

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 183025

LIMDIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT ROME 12321 ACTION SECSTATE JULY 28.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L R ROME 12321

LIMDIS

POUCHED TO: MOSCOW, MADRID, PARIS, LONDON, BONN, FLORENCE,  
GENOA, MILAN, NAPLES, PALERMO, TRIESTE, TURIN.

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PINT, IT, US, UR  
SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH SENIOR COMMUNIST OFFICIAL

SUMMARY. EMBOFF MET WITH ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI)  
SECRETARIAT MEMBER GIANCARLO PAJETTA IN LOCAL RESTAURANT  
JULY 22 FOR FIRST CONTACT AT THIS LEVEL OF THE PARTY.  
PAJETTA MADE A PITCH FOR GREATER AMERICAN PRAGMATISM IN  
TERMS OF RECOGNIZING THE ROLE OF THE PCI IN CONTEMPORARY  
ITALIAN POLITICAL LIFE AND CRITICIZED THE FAILURE OF THE  
AMBASSADOR TO CALL ON PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY BERLINGUER IN  
THE COURSE OF PAYING VISITS TO THE SECRETARIES OF ALL  
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THE OTHER PARTIES OF THE SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL ARC.  
EMBOFF REITERATED US POLICY OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN  
ITALIAN AFFAIRS BUT STRESSED THAT WE DO NOT INTEND TO  
TAKE ANY ACTIONS WHICH COULD POSSIBLY BE INTERPRETED  
OR MISINTERPRETED AS CONVEYING AMERICAN APPROVAL FOR  
PCI ENTRY INTO AN ITALIAN GOVERNMENT. REGARDING HIS  
RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW, PAJETTA SAID HE FOUND THE  
SOVIETS PERPLEXED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, ALTHOUGH  
HE JUDGED THEIR FAILURE TO DRAW A FINAL CONCLUSION

ON THE SUBJECT AS A POSITIVE SIGN FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF FORWARD MOVEMENT IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE AMERICAN INSISTENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS COULD DAMAGE THE DETENTE PROCESS AND STATED THAT WITH PROGRESS ON DETENTE PROSPECTS FOR GREATER HUMAN RIGHTS IN EASTERN EUROPE WOULD INCREASE. EMBOFF NOTED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS AND DETENTE ARE SEPARATE ISSUES WHICH SHOULD HAVE MOMENTUM OF THEIR OWN, AND STRESSED THAT THE US COMMITMENT TO DETENTE REMAINS FIRM AND THAT WE INTEND TO WORK FOR A SUCCESSFUL BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY.

1. AS A FIRST STEP IN THE EMBASSY'S PRUDENT AND GRADUAL EFFORT TO EXPAND CONTACTS WITH PCI OFFICIALS, EMBOFF MET JULY 22 WITH PCI SECRETARIAT MEMBER GIANCARLO PAJETTA, WHO AS OVERALL RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE PARTY. ENCOUNTER TOOK PLACE IN LOCAL RESTAURANT ALTHOUGH PAJETTA HAD INITIALLY SUGGESTED THAT FOR PROTOCOL REASONS MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE IN HIS OFFICE, POINTING OUT, INTER ALIA, THAT HE NORMALLY RECEIVED AMBASSADORS AND NOT FIRST SECRETARIES. PAJETTA WAS JOINED AT THE LUNCHEON BY DIRECTORATE MEMBER BARCA WITH WHOM EMBOFF HAS HAD CONTACT IN THE PAST.

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2. PAJETTA'S PRINCIPAL PITCH, WHICH DOMINATED THE LUNCHEON CONVERSATION, WAS THE NEED FOR SUBSTANTIALLY GREATER AMERICAN PRAGMATISM IN DEALING WITH THE ITALIAN POLITICAL SITUATION. IN HIS VIEW, THE POLICIES OF THE USG ARE HEAVILY CONDITIONED BY PREJUDICES OF THE PAST WHICH PREVENT IT FROM DEALING WITH THE COMMUNIST ISSUE IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD BE IN ITS OWN LONG RANGE INTERESTS.

3. FROM THE ONSET, PAJETTA SHARPLY CRITICIZED QUOTE THE GAFFE END QUOTE OF THE AMBASSADOR IN NOT CALLING UPON PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER AFTER HE HAD DEMONSTRATIVELY CALLED UPON THE SECRETARIES OF THE OTHER PARTIES OF THE SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL ARC. PAJETTA TERMED IT UNBELIEVABLE THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD HEEDED THE ADVICE OF HIS ASSISTANTS NOT TO CALL ON BERLINGUER WHEN HE HAD CALLED UPON LIBERAL PARTY SECRETARY ZANONE WHO DOES NOT REPRESENT A VIABLE POLITICAL FORCE. THIS TYPE OF BEHAVIOR, ALSO FOLLOWED BY THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR WHO IS QUOTE POORLY EDUCATED END QUOTE, CONSTITUTES A FORM OF INTERFERENCE IN ITALIAN AFFAIRS, AND PAJETTA SAID THE PCI HAD REACTED MODERATELY IN NOT MAKING A PUBLIC ISSUE OF THE AMERICAN BEHAVIOR. HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT HE HAD PERSONALLY RAISED IT IN THE WAY OF A PROTEST WITH

FOREIGN MINISTER FORLANI WHO SHRUGGED IT OFF AS QUOTE  
WELL, YOU KNOW THOSE AMERICANS END QUOTE.

4. CONTINUING, PAJETTA ASKED WHETHER THE AMERICANS  
WERE GOING TO MISS THE TRAIN. ITALIAN POLITICAL  
REALITY HAS CHANGED, AND PAJETTA ACCUSED THE USG  
OF HAVING FAILED TO UNDERSTAND THIS. HE ASKED RATHER  
ARROGANTLY QUOTE WILL YOU ONLY DECIDE TO MAKE A  
CALL UPON US AFTER WE ARE IN PALAZZO CHIGI (THE PRIME  
MINISTER'S OFFICE)? END QUOTE. AS PROOF THAT THE  
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PCI REALLY COUNTS IN THE RUNNING OF THE COUNTRY TODAY,  
HE NOTED THAT HE HAD BRIEFED PRIME MINISTER ANDREOTTI  
ON HIS RECENTLY COMPLETED VISIT TO MOSCOW AND THAT THE  
PRIME MINISTER HAD CONSULTED WITH HIM SEVERAL TIMES  
REGARDING HIS THEN FORTHCOMING TRIP TO WASHINGTON.

5. EMBOFF RESPONDED TO PAJETTA BY REITERATING THE  
THREE BASIC POINTS OF AMERICAN POLICY TOWARDS ITALY,  
NON-INTERFERENCE, NON-INDIFFERENCE, AND PREFERENCE  
FOR PARTIES SHARING THE SAME BASIC PRINCIPLES. HE  
SUGGESTED THAT THIS IS A REALISTIC POLICY WHICH TAKES  
INTO COMPLETE ACCOUNT ALL THE FACTORS INVOLVED IN THE  
CURRENT POLITICAL SCENE. HE NOTED WE RECOGNIZE THE  
PCI AS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL FORCE IN ITALY. REGARDING  
CALLS ON PARTY SECRETARIES, HE TOLD PAJETTA THAT CONTRARY  
TO WHAT SOME OF HIS PARTY COLLEAGUES WERE SAYING, THE  
AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN FOLLOWING PAST PRACTICE WHEN HE  
CALLED ON THE SECRETARIES OF OTHER PARTIES, INCLUDING  
THE LIBERALS, AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN WRONG TO EXPECT  
THE AMBASSADOR TO MAKE A MOVE WHICH WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY  
BE INTERPRETED AND EXPLOITED BY THE PCI AND ITS  
SUPPORTERS IN THE PRESS AS A STAMP OF AMERICAN APPROVAL  
FOR THE PARTY.

6. WITH REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT THE PCI HAD CHOSEN  
NOT TO MAKE A PUBLIC ISSUE OF THE AMBASSADOR'S FAILURE  
TO CALL ON BERLINGUER, EMBOFF SAID IT PROBABLY WOULD  
NOT HAVE BEEN IN THE PARTY'S INTEREST TO DO SO IN  
ANY EVENT SINCE IT WOULD HAVE CONFIRMED CONTINUED  
AMERICAN PREFERENCE FOR A NON-COMMUNIST SOLUTION TO  
THE COUNTRY'S POLITICAL PROBLEMS. PAJETTA INTERJECTED  
TO SAY QUOTE YOU ARE EXACTLY RIGHT; WE ARE NOT PREPARED  
TO GIVE ANY PROPAGANDA PRESENTS TO YOU. END QUOTE.  
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EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT THIS CONFORMED EXACLY TO USG

POLICY, TO WIT THAT THE ITALIAN PEOPLE COULD AND SHOULD MAKE THEIR CHOICE FREELY, BUT WE ARE NOT GOING TO DO ANYTHING WHICH COULD BE VIEWED AS GIVING A SEAL OF APPROVAL OR BLESSING TO THE PCI. AS FOR THE TRAIN WHICH MIGHT DEPART WITHOUT THE AMERICANS, EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT HE FELT THAT IT WOULD, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, WAIT FOR THE AMERICANS. TO THE RETORT THAT IN THAT CASE THE TRAIN WOULD THEN LEAVE LATE, EMBOFF SAID THAT THIS MIGHT BE TRUE BUT LITTLE DAMAGE WOULD BE DONE.

7. PAJETTA ALSO CRITICIZED WHAT HE PERCEIVED AS THE AMERICAN EFFORT TO PASS MESSAGES TO PCI HEADQUARTERS THROUGH INDIVIDUAL PCI PARLIAMENTARIANS WHO VISIT THE US IN A PRIVATE CAPACITY (OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO THE RECENT VISIT OF ON. LIBERTINI) OR DURING CALLS ON LOCAL COMMUNIST ELECTED OFFICIALS (REFERRING PRIMARILY TO THE AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON MAYOR GABBUZZIANI OF FLORENCE). EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT WE WERE UNDERTAKING NO SUCH EFFORT, SINCE WE FIND THAT WE HAVE AN EXISTING CHANNEL HERE IN ROME THAT EACH SIDE CAN USE TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE OTHER.

8. EMBOFF ASKED PAJETTA WHY THE PCI SEEMED TO BE MAKING SUCH A CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO OBTAIN AMERICAN ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL. HE NOTED THAT BOTH L'UNITA AND THAT PORTION OF THE PRESS SYMPATHETIC TO THE LEFT IN GENERAL AND THE PCI IN PARTICULAR HAS OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS GONE OUT OF THE WAY TO MISINTERPRET AMERICAN ACTIONS TO IMPLY A CHANGED USG ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PCI. AS THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE, HE POINTED TO THE ARTICLE IN L'UNITA ON JULY 20 REGARDING THE AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON FLORENCE MAYOR GABBUZZIANI WHICH WAS PLAYED AS BIG AS THE STORY ON FOREIGN MINISTER FORLANI'S VISIT TO LISBON WHICH WAS THEN UNDERWAY. HE SAID THERE WAS NO  
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COMPARISON IN TERMS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EVENT, YET THE VERY PLAY GAVE MUCH MORE WEIGHT TO THE AMBASSADOR'S VISIT. PAJETTA SAID THAT THE EXAMPLE SHOWED HOW ABSURD AND OUT OF TOUCH WITH EVENTS THE AMERICANS ARE WHEN THEY READ L'UNITA AS THEY WOULD PRAVDA; HE HAD ALREADY HEARD OF THIS EXAMPLE AS EMBOFF HAD MENTIONED IT AT RECEPTION PREVIOUS EVENING TO ANOTHER PCI OFFICIAL AND THE LATTER HAD MENTIONED IT IN THE SECRETARIAT AS A JOKE THAT VERY MORNING. A FEW MINUTES LATER WHEN PAJETTA MENTIONED HE HAD CAREFULLY POSITIONED A STORY IN L'UNITA ABOUT A MEETING BETWEEN A PCI OFFICIAL AND CZECHOSLOVAK EXILE MLYNAR, EMBOFF QUICKLY POINTED OUT THAT THERE WERE CONTRADICTIONS IN PAJETTA'S ARGUMENTS.

9. DURING THE CONVERSATION, EMBOFF SUGGESTED THAT THE PCI HAS A LONG WAY TO GO IF IT IS TO CONVINCE USG THAT IT TRULY INTENDS TO FOLLOW A POLICY WHICH IS NEITHER ANTI-AMERICAN NOR ANTI-SOVIET. FROM L'UNITA PRESS PLAY, TO STATEMENTS SUCH AS THAT MADE BY DIRECTORATE MEMBER PECCHIOLO REGARDING ALLEGED US INTELLIGENCE INVOLVEMENT IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN ITALY, TO STATEMENTS MADE TO THE AMBASSADOR BY LOCAL PCI OFFICIALS, THERE WAS AMPLE EVIDENCE THAT THE PCI IS NOT BEING BALANCED IN ITS TREATMENT OF THE US. THE PROBLEM, HE ADDED, BECOMES MORE ACUTE WHEN IT COMES FROM A SENIOR PARTY OFFICIAL OR THE OFFICIAL PARTY ORGAN SINCE THEY SHOULD BE TAKING THE LEAD IN SETTING AN EXAMPLE OF BALANCE FOR THE BASE OF THE PARTY WHICH QUITE UNDERSTANDABLY IS MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN THE LEADERSHIP.

10. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, PAJETTA SAID HE FOUND THE SOVIETS, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO MOSCOW, CONFIDENTIAL  
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GENUINELY PERPLEXED BY THE BEHAVIOR OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. HE JUDGED THEIR FAILURE TO DRAW A FINAL CONCLUSION ON THE SUBJECT AS A POSITIVE SIGN FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE, FORWARD MOVEMENT IN US-SOVIET RELATIONS, GIVEN GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES. HE SUGGESTED THAT US INSISTENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS POSES A THREAT TO THE DETENTE PROCESS, ARGUING THAT IF DETENTE IS ALLOWED TO BLOOM, THERE WOULD BE AN IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS CONDITIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE.

11. EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION AS PRESIDENT CARTER HAS POINTED OUT. HE ADDED HE FOUND IT INTERESTING THAT INDIVIDUAL PARLIAMENTARIANS ELECTED ON PCI TICKETS FIND IT USEFUL TO INVOKE THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN IN ASKING THE USG THROUGH THIS EMBASSY TO INTERVENE ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CHILE, ARGENTINA, AND SOUTH KOREA, WHILE THE PARTY QUESTIONS THE VALIDITY OF THE US COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS AS IT AFFECTS THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. PAJETTA INTERRUPTED TO SAY THAT THE USG HAD TROUBLE GIVING HUMAN RIGHTS LESSONS AFTER WHAT HAD HAPPENED IN VIETNAM AND CHILE. HE OBSERVED THAT ITALY HAS HAD TO ACCEPT LARGE NUMBERS OF CHILEAN REFUGEES AS A RESULT OF THE SITUATION WHICH THE USG HAD HELPED TO CREATE IN CHILE. EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT THE NEED TO GO INTO EXILE FOR POLITICAL REASONS IS NEVER AGREEABLE AND THAT NO NATION HAS AN ENTIRELY CLEAR RECORD IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. HE OBSERVED THAT AS A RESULT OF SOVIET ACTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE

SINCE WORLD WAR II WE HAD FELT OBLIGED TO ACCEPT  
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES FROM THOSE COUNTRIES,  
A POINT WHICH THE PCI SEEMED TO MANAGE NEATLY TO FORGET.  
AS FOR PAJETTA'S LINKING HUMAN RIGHTS AND DETENTE,  
EMBOFF EXPRESSED OUR BELIEF THAT THESE ARE SEPARATE  
ISSUES WHICH HAVE THEIR OWN DYNAMISM AND MOMENTUM.  
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ACCORDINGLY, ONE SHOULD NOT BE MADE DEPENDENT ON THE  
OTHER.

12. AS FOR DETENTE, EMBOFF STRESSED THAT THE CARTER  
ADMINISTRATION REMAINED COMMITTED TO THE IMPROVEMENT  
OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, SUGGESTING THAT PAJETTA MIGHT  
WANT TO READ CAREFULLY THE SPEECH THE PRESIDENT HAD  
JUST DELIVERED IN CHARLESTON. THE US ALSO INTENDS TO  
MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO ASSURE THAT POSITIVE RESULTS ARE  
ACHIEVED AT BELGRADE. HOWEVER, HE CHALLENGED PAJETTA'S  
SUGGESTION THAT THE REVIEW CONFERENCE FOCUS ALL ITS  
ATTENTION ON THE SEARCH FOR WAYS FOR FUTURE COOPERATION  
NEGLECTING, AS EMBOFF POINTED OUT, TO EXAMINE ALSO  
AREAS WHERE OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN AT HELSINKI HAD  
NOT BEEN KEPT. AS PROOF OF THE POSITIVE APPROACH  
THE USG TAKES TOWARDS THE BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE, EMBOFF  
POINTED TO THE CONSTRUCTIVE, NON-POLEMICAL STANCE WHICH THE  
AMERICAN DELEGATION HAS TAKEN AT THE PRESENT PREPARATORY  
CONFERENCE. WHILE TALKING ABOUT BELGRADE, PAJETTA  
NOTED THAT IT WAS USEFUL THAT THE USG HAD ISSUED  
A VISA TO PERMIT A L'UNITA CORRESPONDENT TO OPEN  
AN OFFICE IN THE US SINCE CONTINUED FAILURE TO TAKE  
SUCH A STEP WOULD HAVE OBLIGED THE PCI TO URGE THE  
ITALIAN GOVERNMENT TO RAISE THE MATTER AT BELGRADE.  
AS IT WAS, THE PCI HAD ASKED ANDREOTTI TO RAISE  
THE SUBJECT DURING HIS WASHINGTON TRIP, ALTHOUGH  
EVENTS HAD OVERTAKEN THE NECESSITY TO DO THIS.

13. BEFORE CONCLUDING CONVERSATION, PAJETTA SAID  
HE LOOKED FORWARD TO ANOTHER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS  
FOLLOWING THE VACATION PERIOD. HE HINTED THAT HE HOPED  
THESE MEETINGS WOULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO AN ELEVATION  
OF THE LEVEL OF CONTACTS BETWEEN THE PCI AND THE EMBASSY,  
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INCLUDING A POSSIBLE ENCOUNTER INVOLVING THE AMBASSADOR.  
EMBOFF REPLIED THAT HE WELCOMED FUTURE PRIVATE MEETINGS,  
BUT COULD NOT HOLD OUT HOPE FOR ANY MAJOR INCREASE IN  
THE LEVEL ATWHICH THEY OCCURRED.

14. COMMENT. PAJETTA IS A TOUGH, BUT WITTY INTER-  
LOCUTOR. HE IS ARTICULATE, DIRECT TO THE POINT OF  
BEING BITING IN HIS CRITICISM, AND HARD DRIVING ON  
QUESTIONS IN WHICH HE IS DIRECTLY INTERESTED. THE  
POINT THAT CLEARLY CAME THROUGH IS THE DEGREE OF  
PCI SENSITIVITY OVER WHAT THE COMMUNISTS PERCEIVE TO BE THE  
FAILURE OF THE USG TO GIVE THEM THE RESPECT WHICH THEY  
NOW FEEL IS THEIR DUE FOLLOWING THEIR RECENT ELECTORATE  
SUCCESES. HOLMES  
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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